

A short cist at Horsbrugh Castle Farm, Peeblesshire

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INTRODUCTION

On 6th to 8th March 1974 a short cist on Horsbrugh Castle Farm (fig 1) was excavated by the writers for the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. The cist was reported to the Museum on 5th March when the E capstone, which had long been an occasional obstruction to ploughing, was lifted off by the farmer and the sepulchral character of the site recognised. The cist (NGR NT 28993902) was situated on the 500 ft contour in the second field to the W of the farm buildings; it occupied a pit dug into the summit of a sand and gravel knoll forming part of the extensive terrace of the river Tweed some 100 m N of the latter's present course. Soil creep had reduced the ploughsoil depth over the cist to 0.20 m and no sign of any artificial cairn or mound survived.

Prior to the removal of the E capstone by the farmer, the cist appears to have been intact and sealed and subsequent disturbance was confined to the partial collapse of one of the E side-slabs and the extraction of a small lining-slab. The remaining capstone had been left *in situ* and when we first saw the cist its contents were untouched, pieces of decayed bone belonging to an inhumation being clearly visible on the floor along with a small amount of recently intruded gravel and ploughsoil. In the course of the excavation the W capstone was lifted, the cist and its pit completely cleared and the surrounding ground within the limits indicated on the plan (fig 2) trowelled down to undisturbed gravel. The S and W slabs were too heavy to lift out of the pit but it eventually proved possible to investigate the area behind and under these stones by collapsing them down on to the pit floor after the lighter slabs had been removed.

THE CIST (fig 2; pl 3b)

The cist measured internally 1.05 m N/S by 0.60 m and 0.50 m deep and stood on the floor of a large sub-oval pit, 2 m by 1.75 m and 0.65 m deep (from the base of the ploughsoil), with near vertical sides, dug into the gravel of the knoll. The structural and packing stones were all of the local greywacke; none had been dressed or otherwise worked, nor were there any cupmarks.

The capstones consisted of two thick elongated blocks placed side by side and parallel with the cist's long axis; the two ends and W side were formed by single slabs, and the E side by two slabs set end to end and originally slightly overlapping at the joint (the N stone of the pair had partly collapsed inwards after the removal of the E capstone). The maximum sizes of the main structural elements are as follows: W capstone: 1.45 by 0.50 by 0.30 m; E capstone: 1.30 by 0.56 by 0.45 m; S end-slab: 0.70 by 0.48 by 0.30 m; N end-slab: 0.61 by 0.50 by 0.15 m; W side-slab: 1.00 by 0.45 by 0.23 m; E side-slab (S): 0.80 by 0.40 by 0.18 m; E side-slab (N): 0.50 by 0.30 by 0.15 m. The massive S end-slab had a level top and base and near vertical sides,

thick and flat on the W, angular on the E. The remaining uprights were irregularly oval in outline with their edges rounded off or bevelled in section; the W side-slab was more rectilinear than the others and had been placed with its thickest, flattest, longest and straightest edge uppermost. The large gaps in all four corners of the cist caused by the shapes and arrangement of the uprights were tightly plugged by small slabs which had also been used to chock up the capstones all round. Chocking stones would have been particularly necessary on the E side (where the tops of the uprights were 0.10-0.20 m lower than those of the two end-stones), but many had been displaced

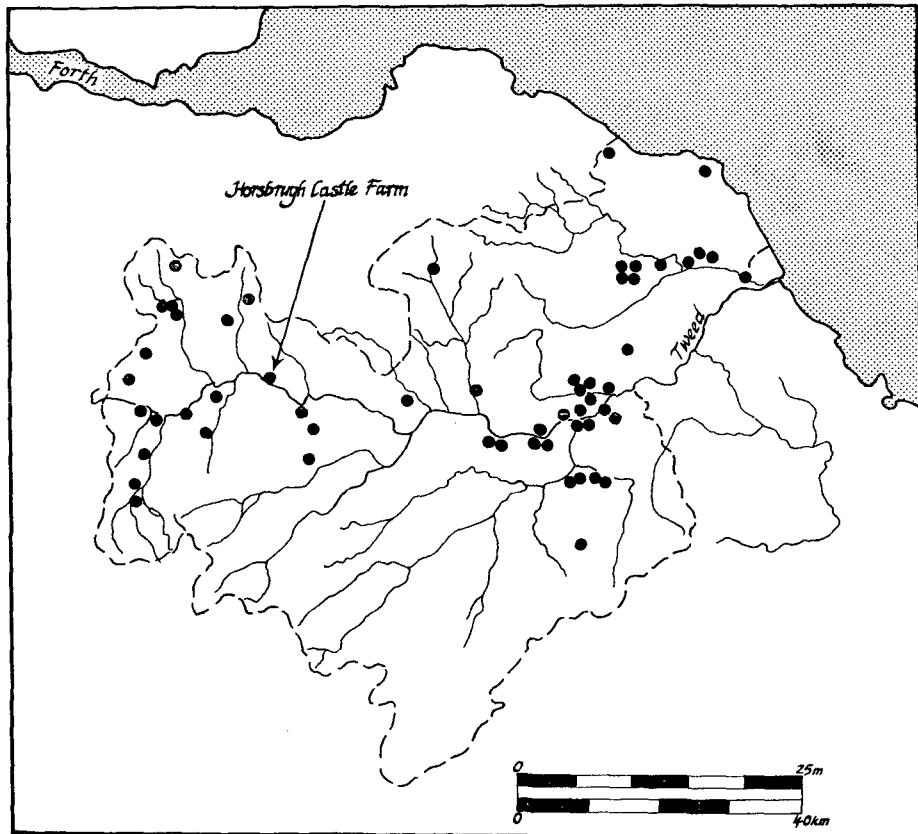


FIG 1 Distribution of short cists in the Tweed Valley (Berwicks, Roxburghs, Selkirk and Peebles)

there by the removal of the capstone. The W and N uprights had each been stabilised by two small flat stones inserted under their bases. The joint between the two capstones was naturally close and would have needed relatively little plugging.

The small slab removed from the cist by the farmhands measures 0.62 m by 0.23 m and 0.10 m thick. It originally lined the slightly recessed inner face of the S slab of the pair forming the E wall of the cist and, by slightly overlapping the inner edge of the S end of the N slab of the pair, may have reinforced the joint between these slabs against the pressure of the heavy external stone packing described below; if so its removal possibly facilitated the partial collapse of the N slab.

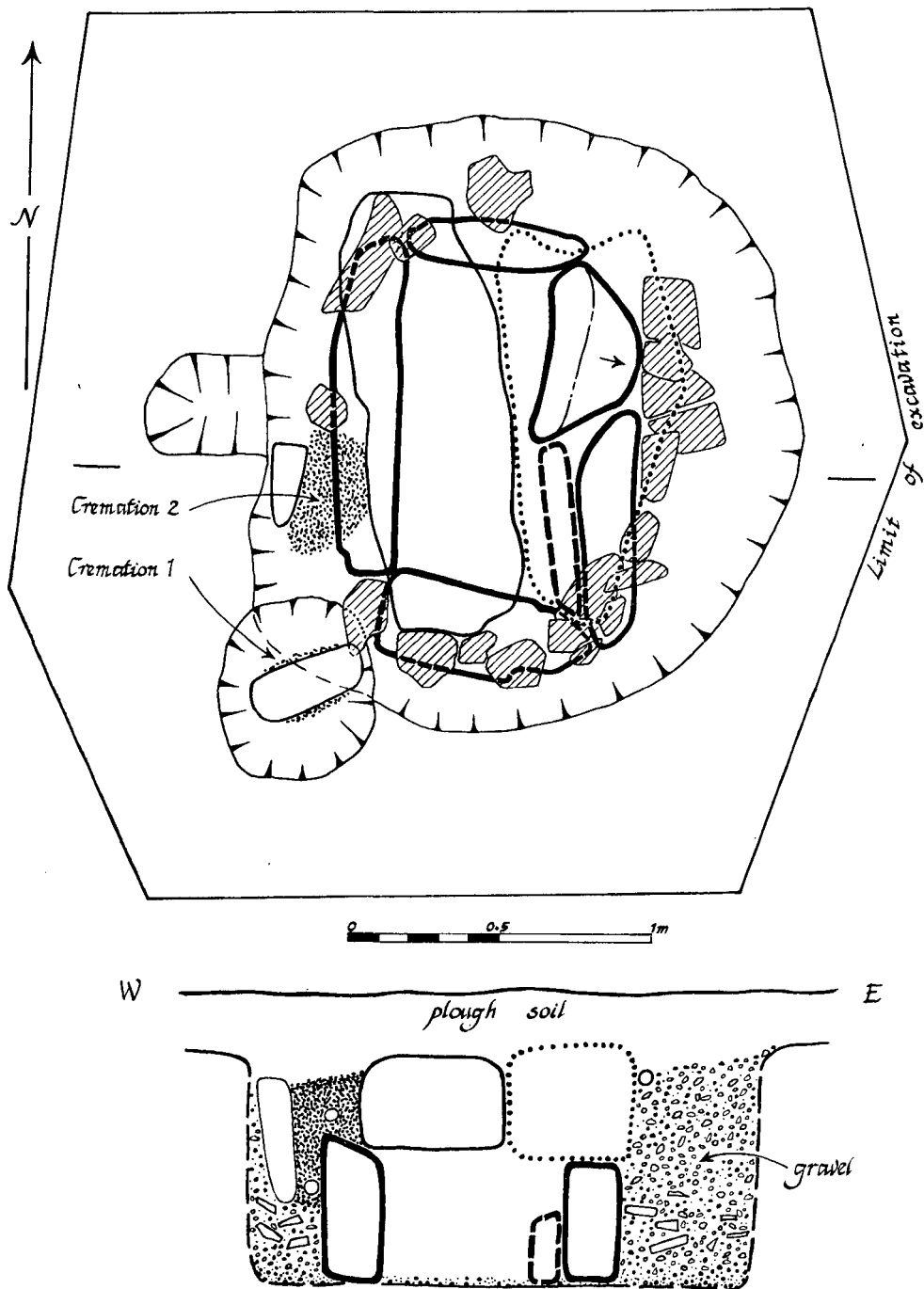


FIG 2 General plan and section of cist and cremations

The basal fill of the cist pit on the E and W sides consisted of large angular stones rammed between the lower two-thirds or so of the side slabs and the pit walls. This packing was particularly elaborate on the E side, structurally the weakest part of the cist, where stones laid flat and several deep against the side slabs were arranged in two rough courses and held in position by gravel and smaller stones placed behind them. The upper part of the fill above the packing and the entire fill, from top to bottom, at the ends of the pits, comprised replaced spoil in the form of sandy gravel devoid of large stones. Along the W side the upper gravelly fill was covered in places by the remains of a layer of fist-sized cobbles rammed between the edge of the capstone and the pit side. On the E side, its existence could not be established due to the removal of the capstone though it still survived in the W half of the N end. It was absent at the S end.

The mutual relationships of the various stones forming the cist are shown on the plan and they suggest that the first of the uprights to be erected was the massive flat-based S end-stone, the only major structural element naturally stable in an upright position. The next was almost certainly the large W side-slab as once this had been secured into place by the stone packing a physically stable framework would have existed for the support of the remaining slabs, on the basis of which their positions could be adjusted. The slightly eccentric position of the cist in the pit, with the S and W slabs relatively close-in to its sides, is consistent with the suggested constructional sequence.

THE INHUMATION (fig 3)

On the cist floor were the remains of a crouched skeleton (c 18-year-old ?male), lying on its right side with its head-end to the SSE and its ventral surface facing ENE. The entire right side of the body in contact with the subsoil had completely decayed away. No traces of the skull, jaws or teeth were to be seen and all that survived in immediately recognisable form were parts of the pelvis plus long bone, rib and vertebrae fragments. Lying on the cist floor at the waist of the skeleton was a small flint knife or scraper.

Dr Young's subsequent examination of the bones and field drawing (Appendix I) revealed that more bones (notably all those of the head and pectoral girdle) were missing than could be accounted for by natural decay and that certain others were disarranged, namely, bones no. 8 (lumbar vertebra but found in the 'neck' area), nos 20 and 22 (both pieces of the right femur but found on different sides of the cist) and nos 2 and 3 (the possibly transposed right and left halves of the hip). These facts suggest that the skeleton had either been disturbed after burial and bones abstracted, or that it had been interred in a skeletonised or partly skeletonised state. In view of the solid construction of the cist and the absence of any obviously intrusive material in it, the second of these possibilities is the more likely. As the drawing (fig 3) shows, the remaining bones were arranged in such a way as to simulate roughly the crouched posture typical of Bronze Age inhumation burials.

THE CREMATIONS (fig 2 and pl 3b)

Two further burials, both cremations (see Appendix II) were found in the excavated area.

Cremation 1 (30-40-year-old ?female) occupied a circular pit, 0.60 m across and 0.20 m deep, with a small flat stone (0.42 m by 0.18 m) embedded in the top of its fill, flush with the level of the gravel surface and directly over the main concentration of burnt bone. The cremation pit was partly cut into the gravel subsoil and partly into the upper fill of the cist pit and was thus secondary to the latter; its own fill consisted of dark brown soil which, in addition to the bones, contained a small potsherd and two small pieces of ?poplar charcoal.

Cremation 2 (containing the remains of two persons, a c 6-year-old child and an adult) was in a deposit of dark ashy soil, c 0.38 m N/S by 0.23 m, banked up against the outer side of the W capstone and occupying the space between the latter and a small stone slab, 0.38 m tall by 0.44 m wide and 85 mm thick, propped almost upright against the side of the cist pit with its base supported by the surface of the thick layer of large packing stones revetting the lower two-thirds of the W side-slab of the cist. The surface of the deposit was on a level with that of the top of the capstone; its bottom was at a depth of 0.40–0.45 m below this level and to the E

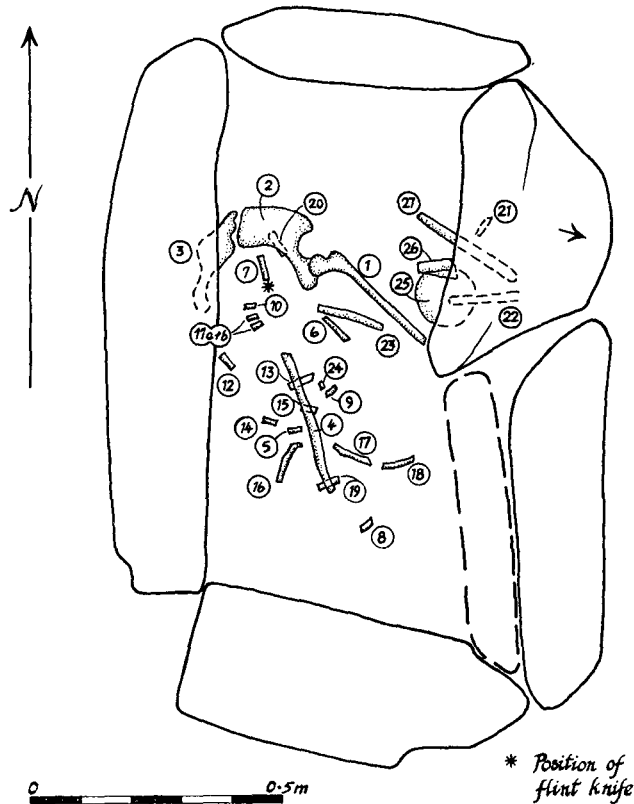


FIG 3 Plan of cist and inhumation

overlapped the top of the main side-slab and to the W just touched the surface of the layer of packing stones. In addition to burnt human bones, the deposit contained fragments of burnt antler, two potsherds, much charcoal and a number of cobbles similar to those which elsewhere formed the packing between the capstone and the W side of the cist pit.

While cremation 2 was clearly buried after the emplacement of the capstone, the loose gravelly nature of the upper fill of the cist pit made it impossible to determine stratigraphically if the cremation deposit had been secondarily inserted into the completely filled pit or, alternatively, had been incorporated into the fill during the final stages of infilling. On balance the first alternative is perhaps to be preferred in view of the vertical-sided compact character of the deposit and the fact that it contained stones possibly derived from the layer of cobbles revetting the capstone. Even so, the intention of the burial party had obviously been to inter cremation

2 wholly within the limits of the pre-existing pit, as proved by the considerable pains which must have been taken to avoid damaging the latter's side given the limited working room between it and the cist and the relatively great depth (0.40-45 m) to which fill would have had to be removed.

The only other feature of possible archaeological significance in the excavated area was the shallow elongated scoop leading into the W side of the cist pit (fig 2). The maximum depth of the scoop was 0.15 m and its fill consisted of sterile brown earth. Sectioning failed to establish its stratigraphic relationship either to the cist pit or to cremation 2. The function and date of the feature are therefore unknown. One possibility is that it represents the base of a shallow cutting made by the persons responsible for the interment of cremation 2 in order to re-locate the edge of the cist pit at a time when the position of the edge had become obscured by trampling or heaped-up spoil.

DISCUSSION

Like most other Scottish short cists, including those recorded by the Royal Commission in the Rachan-Drumelzier area (RCAMS 1967, 15), the Horsbrugh cist was situated in a natural knoll. Precise parallels for the side by side arrangement of the Horsbrugh double capstone cannot be adduced, although at the nearby site of Darnhall Mains the two capstones may have been arranged in this manner (Callander 1930). Double capstones arranged in other ways are numerous. The Horsbrugh cist forms part of a group of four cists in the Tweed Valley with orientations varying from 3 to 13 degrees E of N (the other three sites are Highridgehall, Roxburghs (Lacaille 1929, 351); Whitemuirhaugh, Roxburghs (Craw 1933, 308); and Darnhall, Peebles (Callander 1930, 25)). These orientations may well be the vestige of a regional pattern of cist and/or skeleton orientation comparable to those known from other regions (cf Tuckwell forthcoming), though the sample size in the present case is obviously too small to substantiate this possibility.

The burial of an incomplete and partly or wholly skeletonised body, sometimes, as at Horsbrugh, arranged so as to simulate a conventional crouched inhumation, has possible parallels at several Scottish and English sites, e.g. Skateraw, E Lothian (*DES* 1958, 39); Springwood, Roxburghs (Henshall and McInnes 1968, 81); Radley 17, Berks (Williams 1948); Allerwash, Northumb (Newman and Miket 1973); Corston, Somerset (Taylor 1933); Avebury 55, Wilts (Smith 1965); Pewsey 4, Wilts (Vatcher 1960); Winterslow 20, Wilts (Stone 1934); Bredon Hill, Worcs (Thomas 1967); and Grave 2, Staxton, Yorks (Stead 1962). The possible significance of this practice is commented on below.

Recorded examples of the placing of a cremation in the cist pit are rare (though very few cist pits have been completely excavated) but a few parallels can be cited. The single flat slab backing the Horsbrugh cremation can perhaps be interpreted as a rudimentary version of the small subsidiary cist which abutted against the main cist at Doonfoot, Ayr. The contents of the main cist comprised an inhumation and a food vessel, those of the smaller cist a cordoned urn and cremation (Davidson 1968). Probably a better parallel is the poorly recorded site at Windyhall Farmhouse, Bute, where a short cist (3.5 ft by 2 ft and 1.25 ft deep), consisting of four uprights and a capstone, contained a plain pot (NMA EA 58) and a possible inhumation. Built up against the N end of the cist was a feature described as a 'partly oval-shaped cist' (2 ft by 1.5 ft and 1.25 ft deep) of 'rude construction', with walls of 'water-worn boulders', a whinstone cover-slab and contents consisting of a 'few fragments of very small bone' (?cremation). The 'walls' of this feature can probably be interpreted as the sides of a pit in the packing stones filling the main

cist pit, and the site thus appears to duplicate in some detail the arrangement at Horsbrugh (*Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 9 (1870-2), 463).

Finally, the existence at Horsbrugh of what may be termed a 'multiple cremation deposit' (cremation 2) may be noted. Multiple cremation deposits can be defined as single masses of cremated human bones which comprise the remains of more than one individual and which were formed prior to, or contemporaneously with, burial. They thus exemplify a specific type or group of types of collective burial practice. Such deposits are relatively common occurrences at British Bronze Age burial sites, but have received little attention in the past so the opportunity will be taken here to list (Appendix III) the 98 examples known to the authors and to comment briefly on their possible significance. The possibility that bones were added to the deposits after burial cannot be excluded in all cases though there are no positive grounds for assuming that this normally happened, and all the examples listed in Appendix III were in urns, formed well-defined heaps in undisturbed graves or cists, or had other contexts equally devoid of evidence for multi-period deposition.

It should be said that only a small percentage of the thousands of recorded Bronze Age cremations have been properly examined and that, because of this, many multiple cremations must have been unrecognised as such by their discoverers. This applies particularly to deposits in which one or more of the bodies was represented by a few fragments only (as at Horsbrugh) or where there was no marked disparity in age to catch the eyes of persons casually sifting through the bones in search of small finds. Because of this there is no doubt that child/adult associations are grossly over-represented in the Appendix. Moreover, as the identification of the numbers of persons in a given age/sex category in cremations largely depends on the duplication of recognisable bone fragments, the chances of complete sets of such duplicates surviving decreases as the number of persons actually represented in a deposit goes up. For this reason, the figures in the Appendix relating to the numbers of individuals are in many cases minimum figures.

The tentative character of much of the data relating to age and sex and, in many of the older reports, the imprecise use of such terms as 'young person', 'child' and 'infant' does not encourage detailed analysis, though a few general features of the series can be noted. The minimum number of individuals represented in the deposits (in the 94 cases where reasonably exact figures exist) varies from 2 (75 deposits) to 4 (2 deposits) with 5 deposits containing the remains of 2-3 persons, 9 of 3 persons, and 3 of 3-4 persons. In 64 deposits containing 2 persons only, combinations between age categories break down as follows: adult + child/infant (43), child/infant + child/infant (3) and adult + adult (18). Many of the adult/child associations involve youngish females and small children or babies (i.e. presumably mothers and their children) but the age combinations in others preclude a simple parent/child relationship (?siblings, ?cousins). In like manner, the few single adult male + single adult female associations (?husband and wife) are counterbalanced by other relatively rare combinations (e.g. 2 same sex adults) which indicate that, in some cases at any rate, a social unit other than the nuclear family is probably involved. This conclusion is reinforced by the particular associations of age and sex categories displayed by some of the 19 deposits definitely or probably containing more than two individuals, as can be seen by consulting the appropriate entries in the Appendix. For what it is worth, the male/female ratio (inclusive of the tentatively sexed remains in each category) is 16 : 37, the imbalance being largely due to the many supposed mother/child associations (there is only one possible instance of the single male + single young child/infant combination in the list though confidence in this statistic is shaken by the many cases where sexing was not attempted, is tentative, or was assumed rather than diagnosed on physical grounds).

That the lack of a uniform and easily interpretable pattern of associations does not entirely

stem from the unreliability or ambiguity of much of the data on sexing and ageing, or from the scattered temporal and spatial distribution (described below) of the deposits, is illustrated by the ten Vines Farm, Essex, examples. These have all been completely examined and provide the only large block of reliable data from a culturally homogeneous and geographically limited context. All ten deposits contained the remains of children associated with females or unsexed adults but, in one case, also the bones of an elderly male. Moreover, as at Horsbrugh and many other sites producing multiple cremation deposits, single burials, including those of children, also occurred in some of the Vines Farm cemeteries; even if the multiple cremations were characterised by a consistent adult female + child combination, some more recondite motive than a sentimental desire to associate mothers and their children in the same deposit would have to be postulated in order to account satisfactorily for the phenomenon.¹

Bronze Age multiple cremation deposits have antecedents in the indigenous pre- or non-beaker neolithic tradition, for example at Sites V and VI, Dorchester, Oxon (Atkinson *et al* 1951), and thus constitute an element of continuity between the burial practices of the third and second millennia. For the rest, the widespread distribution in time and space of the second-millennium deposits and the way in which this distribution ignores established ceramic divisions and other cultural boundaries (such as they are) are conspicuous features of the series: almost every British Bronze Age pot type, from beakers to Deverel-Rimbury urns, is associated with multiple cremation deposits which have been recorded from nearly every region of Britain. The relative preponderance among the cinerary urns of the collared and Deverel-Rimbury varieties is probably largely attributable to the fact that these types are much more numerous generally than encrusted, cordoned or other urns. The contents of comparatively few Deverel-Rimbury urns, however, have been scientifically examined and they may be somewhat under-represented. There are surprisingly few food vessels (exclusive of the enlarged variety) on the list and these may also be under-represented, partly for the same reason, though this class of pottery, of course, more often accompanies inhumations than cremations. The occurrence of multiple cremation deposits in beaker contexts is all the more striking because of the very low incidence of beaker/cremation associations of any kind, though further comment on this would be pointless given the small numbers involved. Finally, the three 'Wessex Culture' multiple cremation deposits (Breach Farm, Glam; Portsdown, Hants; and Tynings E, Somerset; cf Balneil, Wigtowns) are of particular interest as they open up the possibility that the 'rich' grave goods accompanying other 'Wessex Culture' cremations (very few of which have received specialist examination) may likewise have to be apportioned among two or more persons, and perhaps more than one generation, rather than be assigned to a single 'chiefly' individual.

The nature of the funerary customs leading to the production of multiple cremation deposits cannot be elucidated in detail or with any degree of certainty though there is no reason to think that a uniform procedure was followed in all cases.

The simultaneous death, burning and burial of all the individuals represented in a deposit is obviously a possibility, particularly where the remains of females of child-bearing age accompany those of fetuses or very young infants (perinatal deaths) while infectious disease or some other agent of mortality causing multiple simultaneous deaths could also account for these and other examples. The alternative, of course, is that the contents of the deposits comprise the remains of persons who died at intervals and who were collectively buried after temporary storage elsewhere. The composition and context of some multiple cremation deposits in fact provide some support for this hypothesis though the nature of the data is such that conclusive proof is seldom obtainable. The most definite evidence for the practice is from Tynings S, Somerset, where the bones (while still unburnt) of one of the two individuals forming the deposit had been gnawed

by a small carnivore. As was suggested by the excavator (Taylor 1951, 112–6) the occasion for the gnawing was doubtless the interval between death and cremation when the corpse was temporarily housed in a shallow grave or other repository allowing free access to vermin. At Itford, Sussex, the bones of the limb girdles, ribs and extremities were almost entirely lacking from 10 single cremation deposits as well as from the multiple cremation listed in the Appendix. This again probably indicates that the bodies were burned in a skeletonised state, after prior storage elsewhere, the missing bones for some reason not being consigned to the pyre with the others.² It is of interest that the Itford evidence in general is consistent with the possibility that the entire group of cremations, the multiple cremation deposit included, was interred more or less collectively in connection with events associated with the building of the round barrow which covered one of the burials.

Data bearing on other features of the ritual practices lying behind the creation of these deposits are equally few and ambiguous.

In some deposits (e.g. Rudston, Yorks; Colbury, Hants; Horsbrugh) there is only token representation of one or more of the bodies, a circumstance probably more in keeping with the loss or partial recovery of bones from a collective storage place than from one containing a single burial only. If so, the missing bones should normally belong to the 'older' burials in such repositories as these might reasonably be expected to be more subject to loss than those deposited closer to the time of final burial. At W Overton (Wilts) and Irton Moor (Yorks) the bones of the different individuals were apparently jumbled together promiscuously throughout the deposit and are thus likely to have been cremated on the same pyre, though, of course, they could have been stored individually before this event. Some form of simultaneous cremation of the various individuals contained in them is also probably indicated in the case of the multiple cremation deposits at Pin Farm (Suffolk), Wilsford (Wilts) and Quernhow (Yorks) where the bones were evidently buried while still smouldering from the pyre (the two bodies represented in the Pin Farm cremation, however, were burned at different temperatures implying either that they were cremated on different pyres or on different parts of the same pyre, but in any case separately). In deposits from Ffridd y Gorsedd, (Flints), Simondston, (Glam) and Bannside, (Lancs) the bones of different individuals were kept separate from one another and must therefore have been similarly segregated throughout the period between death and final burial. Deposits of this kind, of course, are hardly distinguishable in principle from collectively interred single cremations or from those buried contemporaneously with inhumations³ and, like the Itford single cremation deposits described earlier, help to fix the position of the specific funerary usages discussed here within a wider ritual context.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The results of many modern excavations of neolithic and Bronze-Age burial sites have emphasised the great number of ritual variables which may apply to a given burial situation, and, in consequence, the importance of careful field recording. As Horsbrugh illustrates, even such apparently uncomplicated monuments as short cists may be the product of a relatively long-term process of social behaviour rather than of a single short-lived ritual act.

As a corollary to some of the considerations raised in connection with multiple cremation deposits we would argue that at Horsbrugh the 'primary' burial ('primary' in other than a purely stratigraphical sense) is unlikely to have been the skeleton (which may have been buried in a partly articulated condition and, if so, probably represented the most recent death of the four) but rather one of the burnt bodies, possibly the adult in cremation 2, assuming that the paucity of

skeletal material assignable to this last body reflects the vicissitudes of a prolonged period of storage elsewhere. The point we wish to make here, however, is not that any particular sequence of burial occurred at Horsburgh but that, at this site (and at its analogues elsewhere), the traditional model of Early Bronze Age burial practice, with its reliance on a crude application of stratigraphic principles to establish simple successions of unrelated 'primary' and 'secondary' burials, does not begin to cover the possibilities. The four individuals interred at Horsburgh can be assumed to have died at different times but, we suggest, their subsequent burial is likely to have occurred collectively, or, at any rate, near collectively over the space of several days or weeks. We would urge in support of this that the various modes of burial represented at the site belong to the same general area of ritual observance, in that cremation and defleshing (however this is accomplished) are procedures which introduce a formal or ritualised pause or element of delay between the moment of death and final burial, i.e. between the *initial* and the *ultimate* treatment of the dead. In the initial stage of response to a death the corpse is necessarily treated individually (since in a small community normally only one death occurs at a time) and this is likely to remain true however the details of the initial response may vary (exposure to the elements, cremation, or immediate burial in a grave, cist or other type of tomb). The ultimate stage is concerned with the permanent disposal of the remains in whatever form they survive and at Horsburgh probably involved the physical removal of the skeletal remains from their place(s) of initial storage and their re-burial in the cist area; in other cases this stage may include, or consist of, acts intended to seal the initial burial places without further disturbance of the bones (e.g. by the erection of a barrow over a small cemetery of 'single graves'), though, of course, the two sets of procedures may be combined in various ways (e.g. by the placing of a multiple cremation deposit in a grave later to be covered by a barrow and already containing other collectively or successively interred burials) (Petersen 1973, 25 ff).

There is ethnographic evidence that the differential treatment of the dead within a society often expresses status and role distinctions perceived by that society as important and therefore as worthy of formal recognition in mortuary practice. The archaeological implications of this fact have been recently explored by Binford (1972, 208-43) at some length and there is little doubt that, under favourable circumstances, *variability in mortuary treatment can be made to yield important information*. However, the ethnographic evidence also indicates that the specific means (rite, orientation, location and grouping of burials etc) employed to distinguish particular categories of dead may vary in an arbitrary way even between spatially contiguous and culturally closely related communities (Kroeber 1927, 312-13) so that, for example, the population elements cremated in Early Bronze Age Wessex may or may not be homologous with those so treated in Early Bronze Age Yorkshire or Derbyshire. This can apply even when the kinds and numbers of the social distinctions symbolised in the mortuary practices of the communities being compared are identical and means, as far as prehistoric Britain is concerned, that detailed interpretation of the funeral record must probably await accurate definitions of regional as well as period boundaries. Other problems arise from the fact that, again according to modern ethnographic evidence (Binford 1972, 221; Kroeber 1927, 313; Ucko 1969, 271), differential mortuary treatment sometimes depends on such intangibles as place or manner of death (e.g. in some societies the bodies of the lightning-struck or drowned are treated differently from those of persons dying from more conventional causes); burials of this kind will be difficult to identify as such though their numbers should normally be small and in cases where the archaeological record is reasonably complete they may be isolatable through their failure to correlate with social divisions established on other evidence. The great obstacle to the determination of the social correlatives of many aspects of third- and second-millennium British burials, however, is

precisely the inadequacy of the general archaeological record; not only is there no data on the spatial relationships of the graves to the settlement area, and thus, indirectly, to each other in cases where they are not grouped together (see Binford 1972, 233 ff, for the potential relevance of the spatial factor), but there is little or no evidence of any kind from settlements and therefore nothing outside themselves with which distinctions in the funerary record can be correlated. Within these limitations, however, some progress can be made, as shown by recent studies of Yorkshire beaker/Early Bronze Age inhumation burials (Tuckwell forthcoming) which exhibit correlations between orientation and sex, though, for the reasons given and as the earlier discussion of multiple cremation deposits illustrates, the nature of the social distinctions reflected in other aspects of second-millennium British burial practice will prove less easy to establish.

Complex burial practices involving the collective treatment (ultimate disposal) of groups of burials presumably representative of individuals who died at different times can also be seen to have existed, in one form or other, in earlier British prehistory. This is particularly evident at such sites as Nutbane, Hants (Morgan 1959, 24) and Wayland's Smithy I, Berks (Atkinson 1965, 127-30), where the corpses appear to have been exposed for a more or less protracted period prior to formal burial, but is also observable at many neolithic chamber tombs, e.g. Lanhill, Wilts (Keiller and Piggott 1938, 125-8) and Midhowe, Orkney (Henshall 1963, 91), where, as at the Bronze Age successive burial sites mentioned in the previous paragraph, ultimate burial took the form of the permanent sealing of a repository containing multiple, successively interred burials. In fact, it could be argued that the distinction between third- and second- millennium burial practice is largely a matter of architecture, long barrows and chamber tombs in the one case, round barrows and flat cemeteries of various sorts in the other. If more fundamental distinctions exist they are both unknown and incapable of being summarised under rubrics of the 'collective burial' versus 'single grave' type.

The size and nature of the social context in which burial practices occurred in third-and second-millennium Britain must have varied from time to time and from place to place. The amount of community effort, and, by extension, the community size, required to produce some of the large South British round barrows was obviously greater than that needed to build a single short cist, though recent experimental work (McAdam and Watkins 1974) has indicated that the building of even these minor structures probably exceeded the capability of a single nuclear family. The nature of the social and religious activities which would be expected to surround the kind of major collective effort entailed by the construction of many Bronze-Age (and neolithic) monuments can, of course, only be guessed at. The 'Feast of the Dead' of the Huron and Algonquin Indians of N America, agricultural peoples probably generally comparable in their level of social organisation to that of the inhabitants of third-and second-millennium Britain, illustrates one of the many possibilities. Such feasts were held every ten years or so and possibly marked the occasions when a village was about to be abandoned and it was thought necessary to inform the dead of the projected move (Tooker 1964, 134). It was the time when the bones of those who had died in the village and its neighbours since the previous Feast were brought from their places of initial interment (4-post exposure platforms) for final burial in a collective grave (*ibid*, 130), and when the names of the important dead were transferred to their living relatives (Hickerson 1960, 90). The defleshed bones were made into bundles, sometimes formed into human shapes, and placed on top of the partly decayed bodies of the more recently dead laid out on the grave floor (Tooker 1964, 137-8). Large numbers of presents were brought to the Feast and re-distributed among the living in lavish displays of generosity, but only a few old kettles were actually buried in the grave. A hut or shrine was built over the grave pit and allowed to rot away; similar

huts were erected over the graves of those who had died violently and were therefore not eligible for collective burial at the Feast, i.e. they were a sign of final burial (Trigger 1969, 112).

FINDS

The Inhumation. The small worked flint (48 mm by 26 mm) associated with this burial was of grey brown flint. It was made from a secondary flake and had fairly steep retouch on alternate faces (fig 4). Simple flake knives or scrapers of various types are a common feature of British beaker and food vessel graves, as at Upper Boyndlie, Tyrie, Aberdeens (Callander 1909, 83); Cist 4, Limefield, Lanarks (Ritchie and Shepherd 1973); or Birkhill, Stirlings (*Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 21 (1886-7), 265). We know of no parallels from a funerary context to the two-way retouch of the Horsbrugh implement although the knife from the beaker material filling the Achnacreebeag passage grave (ARG 37) (Ritchie 1973, 36, 49, fig 4 : 20), that from Cist 2 at Glenreasdale Mains, Argyll (MacLaren 1969, 111, fig 1) and the one from Ferniegair, Lanarks (Miller 1947, 17, fig 3) are all otherwise similar to it.

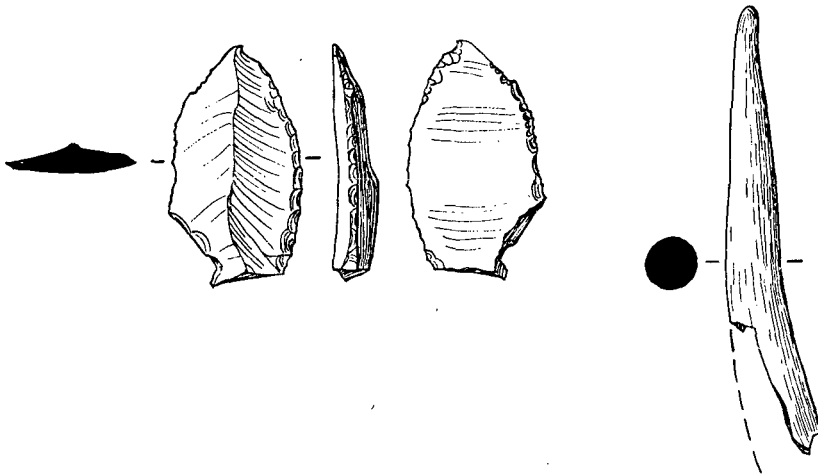


FIG 4 Flint knife from cist and antler tine from Cremation 2 (scale 2 : 3)

Cremation 1. A small plain potsherd (54 mm by 28 mm) of coarse, buff-coloured ware was found in the cremation deposit after its removal from the site. The outer surface of the sherd has gone, revealing a black interior backed with angular grits of a hard stone. The surviving thickness of the sherd is 10 mm. Not illustrated. Two small pieces of ?poplar charcoal were also found with Cremation 1.

Cremation 2. A. A small lump (24 mm by 17 mm and 10 mm thick) of orange to buff-coloured pottery with large angular grits, similar in fabric to the sherd from Cremation 1, was found in situ near the surface of the S edge of the cremation deposit. Not illustrated. The deposit containing Cremation 2 was removed from the site and flotated (total weight of removed deposit 2313 gm), leading to the recovery of 89 gm of charcoal, but no seeds, and the following objects. B. Featureless lump of possible pottery (15 mm by 10 mm) lacking both surfaces, apparently of different fabric to A. Not illustrated.

C. Burnt fragments of an unworked red deer brow tine (fig 4). Whether the tine was originally used as a tool or pin or simply constitutes faunal remains comparable to the sheep bones (see

Appendix II) from the same deposit and to the large mammal bones found in cremation deposits at many other sites is problematical (e.g. the following sites listed in Appendix III: Porth Dyfarth, Ang; Holmrook, Cumb; Alwinton, Northumb; Crieff, Perth; Jacket's Well, Radnor). The presumably ritual occurrence of antler tines in various Derbyshire burial contexts (Marsden 1971, 196) is also worth mentioning in this connection.

The charcoal associated with cremations 1 and 2 was tentatively identified by Mrs H Thompson of The Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh:

1. 2 gm of ?poplar charcoal, cremation 1
2. 27 gm of ?oak charcoal (sorted prior to flotation), cremation 2
3. 60 gm of ?poplar charcoal (recovered through flotation), cremation 2
4. 2 gm of charcoal from an unidentified water plant, cremation 2.

APPENDIX I

The Horsbrugh Castle Farm Skeleton

by *Archibald Young*, Anatomy Department, Glasgow University

The bones, which have been deposited in the National Museum, are identified against the numbers on paper labels in each package or tied on the bone. The position of each numbered bone is indicated on plan fig 3.

- 1 Proximal half of the L femur: a heavy strong bone. The epiphyses for the head and great trochanter are not completely fused but that for the lesser trochanter is almost completely fused.
- 2 R innominate bone lacking most of the ischium and the epiphyses of the pubis and ilium (crest and anterior inferior spine).
- 3 L innominate bone lacking most of the ischium and part of the ilium.
Both innominate bones are those of a heavily built male.
- 4 Most of the shaft and the lower end of a L humerus. It lacks the proximal end and the medial epicondylar epiphyses (the latter were not fused). The bone is of heavy build.
- 5 Part of a vertebral body (? lumbar) lacking the epiphyses (unfused).
- 6 The head and upper one-third of the shaft of the L radius. The epiphysis for the head is incompletely fused.
- 7 Upper segments of the sacrum.
- 8 Part of a vertebral body lacking the epiphyses (unfused).
- 9 Part of a vertebral body lacking the epiphyses (unfused).
- 10 Part of the body and a pedicle of a lumbar vertebra (?L5).
- 11 a and b. Parts of the bodies and pedicles of 2 vertebrae (?L3 and 4).
- 12 Fragment of a rib.
- 13 Part of the shaft of a rib.
- 14 Part of a vertebral body lacking the epiphyses (unfused)
- 15 Part of a R rib.
- 16 Part of the shaft of a L rib.
- 17 Part of a L rib.
- 18 Posterior part of a R rib (?No. 8) lacking the epiphysis for the head of the rib.
- 19 Posterior part of a R rib.
- 20 Head and neck of the R femur (the epiphysis for the head is incompletely fused).
- 21 a. Upper part of the shaft and the unfused proximal epiphysis of the R tibia.
b. Part of the lower epiphysis of the L femur.
c. 2 fragments of the epiphyseal surface of the metaphysis of a long bone (?tibia).
d. A fragment of the shaft of a long bone.
- 22 Part of the lower end of the shaft and the unfused lower epiphysis of a R femur.
- 23 Proximal half of a L ulna (olecranon epiphysis fused).

- 24 Part of a rib.
 25 2 fragments of the epiphyseal surface of the metaphysis of a long bone (?tibia: cf 21c). Also shaft fragments of a long bone or bones.
 26 Fragments of a long bone.
 27 2 fragments of the shaft of a long bone (?or bones). ?Tibia. ?Femur.
 The following fragments do not appear on the plan:
 28 ?Base of a metatarsal.
 29 Fragment of a rib (probably human).
 30 3 fragments of bone possibly from the proximal end of a tibia.
 31 Possibly part of the body and an articular surface of a tarsal bone.

Comments

The subject was heavily built, probably male and aged about 18 years. From the plan of the bones *in situ* supplied by the excavators, I should say there had been some disturbance of the skeleton.

APPENDIX II

Cremated remains from Horsbrugh Castle Farm, 1974

by C B Denston, Department of Physical Anthropology, University of Cambridge

Both cremations have been deposited in the Department of Physical Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

Cremation 1

Colour of fragments: Light brown-white

Length of fragments: 0-94 mm

Total weight: 457.2 gm

Number of individuals: one

Sex: ?female

Age at death: adult, possibly 30-40 years.

Weight and Percentage Distribution of the Skeletal Remains

	gm	% total
Skull	178.1	39.0
Femur	42.1	9.2
Tibia	14.1	3.1
Humerus	12.1	2.6
Radius and Ulna	7.4	1.6
Metatarsals, Metacarpals, Phalanges	1.9	0.4
Calcaneum	5.0	1.1
Talus	1.3	0.3
Innominate	5.9	1.3
Vertebrae	9.5	2.0
Scapula	1.3	0.3
Rib	3.0	0.7
Miscellaneous long bone	77.0	16.9
Miscellaneous cancellous	16.5	3.6
Miscellaneous	82.0	17.9

Summary

The absence of duplication of specific bones is consistent with the possibility that only one individual was represented by the remains. The weight of the bones was approximately one-eighth of the original amount, the skeleton as a whole being well represented by both skull and post-cranial bones. The lack of

robustness of the bones suggests they belonged to a female, a possibility partly substantiated by the characteristics of some of the mandible and cranial fragments. The degree of fusion of the sutures of some cranial fragments suggests that the individual was an adult, but other fragments displaying unfused sutures indicate age at death was not advanced. The fact that the left mandibular condyle displayed evidence of osteoarthritis would seem to suggest that the individual was not young, and an age at death of between 30–40 years would seem to be appropriate. Evidence for the antemortem loss of molar teeth and the subsequent complete obliteration of the alveoli displayed by a fragment of the left side of the corpus of the mandible is also consistent with the individual not being a particularly young adult. Oral health was not very good: periodontal disease was indicated by minute foraminae in, and resorption of, the alveoli in fragments of the maxilla; the latter also produced evidence for at least one chronic abscess cavity (the cavity in question had replaced the alveolus for the first right premolar).

Cremation 2

Colour of fragments: mainly light brown; others white
 Length of fragments: 0–51 mm (immature)
 Length of fragments: 15–49 mm (adult)
 Length of fragments: 27–46 mm (non-human)
 Total weight: 510.5 gm
 Number of individuals: two
 Sex: indeterminable
 Age at death: immature, approximately 6 years
 Age at death: adult

Weight and Percentage Distribution of the Skeletal Remains

	gm	% total
Skull	76.8	15.0
Femur	10.8	2.1
Sacrum	1.5	0.3
Vertebrae	9.3	1.9
Epiphysis: ?1st metatarsal	0.1	0.02
Innominate	0.8	0.2
Ulna	0.8	0.2
Calcaneum	1.0	0.2
Talus	1.5	0.3
Clavicle	1.2	0.2
Miscellaneous long bone	70.9	13.9
Miscellaneous cancellous	25.0	4.9
Miscellaneous	280.5	54.9
Adult	12.1	2.4
Non-human	18.2	3.6

Summary

Possibly the bulk of the remains belonged to an immature individual but some fragments, of long bone and possibly crania, are thicker and would seem to be attributable to an adult. These few adult fragments were of a lighter colour than the rest of the remains.

Also present were fragments of non-human bone; 11 of these fragments were identified by my colleague, Mr D Allen of the Animal Bone Department of this Faculty, as belonging to scapula, tibia, humerus and mandible of sheep.

The sex of the immature individual was indeterminable but indications of age at death were displayed by a number of bones. The size of the metaphysial surface of the head of a femur implies death occurred at approximately 6 years. Also the arches were joined to the bodies of the vertebrae (indicating a minimum age of approximately 3 years) and the odontoid process of the axis was joined to its body (indicating a minimum age of approximately 4 years).

The 'miscellaneous cancellous' fragments could come from any suitable post-cranial bones, notably the extremities of the femora and tibia, and the head of the humerus.

APPENDIX III

List of British Beaker/Bronze Age Multiple Cremation Deposits

NB. Whenever an estimate of age in years is available this is given for each entry (where age has been published as falling within a range of years the figure used here is an average). Otherwise the terminology employed in the published report is usually followed.

Abbreviations

A	Adult
AA	<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i>
AC	<i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i>
Ant J	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
Arch	<i>Archaeologia</i>
Ayr C	<i>Ayrshire Collections</i>
B&T AH	Barbed and tanged arrowhead
BB	W Greenwell and G Rolleston, <i>British Barrows</i> , 1877
Brz	Bronze
C	Child
CAG	<i>Bulletin of the Colchester Archaeological Group</i>
CW	<i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</i> (Second Series)
DAJ	<i>Derbyshire Archaeological Journal</i>
D-R	Deverel-Rimbury
DES	<i>Discovery and Excavation in Scotland</i>
F	Adult female
F-V	Food vessel
40 Yrs	J R Mortimer, <i>Forty Years Researches in . . . East Yorkshire</i> , 1905
HFC	<i>Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club</i>
I	Infant
Indet	Indeterminate
KD	Bronze knife-dagger
M	Adult male
NA	<i>Norfolk Archaeology</i>
Oxon	<i>Oxoniensia</i>
PCK	Plano-convex flint knife
PDAS	<i>Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society</i>
PPS	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society</i>
PSANHS	<i>Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society</i>
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
PSIA	<i>Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology</i>
PUBSS	<i>Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society</i>
SAC	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i>
Sml	Small
TBGAS	<i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society</i>
ULIAB	<i>Bulletin of the University of London Institute of Archaeology</i>
WAM	<i>Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Magazine</i>
YAJ	<i>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</i>
Yng	Young
Yr	Years old

<i>Site</i>	<i>Burials</i>	<i>Associations</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Treiorwerth, Ang	2 (M+20 yr F)	Collared urn	AC 120, p 11
Porth Dyfarch, Ang	2 (24 yr A+I)	Collared Urn, Pygmy cup, brz rivet	AC 23, p 217
Clachbreck, Argylls	At least 2	Nil	DES 1962, p 9
Girvan, Ayr	2 (21 yr F+foetus)	Cordoned urn	Ayr C 2S, p 9

<i>Site</i>	<i>Burials</i>	<i>Associations</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Holmrook, Cumb	2 (yng A + sml C)	Collared urn	<i>CW</i> 44, p 161
Shield Knowe, Cumb	At least 2	Nil	<i>CW</i> 40, p 154
Harland Edge, Derbys	2 (20 yr A + 7½ yr C)	2 F-Vs, 3 PCKs	<i>DAJ</i> 85, p 31
Stanton T8, Derbys	2	Brz fragments	<i>DAJ</i> 57, p 21
Stanton T13, Derbys	2 (A + 2 yr C)	Nil	<i>DAJ</i> 57, p 21
	2 (?F + 3 yr C)	Flint flake	<i>DAJ</i> 57, p 21
Crichel 1, Dorset	2 (A + C)	D-R sherds	<i>Arch</i> 90, p 47
Crichel 9, Dorset	2 (A + 20 yr A)	Nil	<i>Arch</i> 90, p 47
Wimborne, Dorset	2 (50 yr M + ?A)	Collared urn	<i>PDAS</i> 92, p 159
Kirkburn, Dumf	2 (sml A + large A)	Flint flake	<i>PSAS</i> 96, p 107
	2 (M + indet)	Cordoned urn, bone pin, KD	<i>PSAS</i> 96, p 107
Auchengaich, Dunb	More than 1	Nil	<i>DES</i> 1967, p 24
Vinces Farm 2, Essex	2 (?F + yng C)	Globular urn	<i>CAG</i> 3, pp 22, 37
Vinces Farm 3, Essex	2 (A + C)	Bucket urn	<i>CAG</i> 4, pp 33, 59
	4 (old M + F + C + C)	Bucket urn	<i>CAG</i> 4, pp 33, 59
	?2 (?C + I)	Bucket urn	<i>CAG</i> 4, pp 33, 59
	2 (A + C)	Bucket urn	<i>CAG</i> 4, pp 33, 59
	2 (yng A + I)	Bucket urn	<i>CAG</i> 4, pp 33, 59
	3 (F + 6yr C + I)	Nil	<i>CAG</i> 4, pp 33, 59
	2 (A + C)	Bucket urn	<i>CAG</i> 4, pp 33, 59
	2 (adolescent + yng C)	Bucket urn	<i>CAG</i> 4, pp 33, 59
Vinces Farm 4, Essex	2 (F + 2 yr C)	Nil	<i>CAG</i> 9, p 2
Badley Hall, Essex	2 (A + 4 yr C)	Collared urn	<i>CAG</i> 7, p 37
Ffridd y Gorsedd, Flints	2 (M + sml F)	Enlarged F-V, KD, brz awl	<i>AC</i> 76, p 265
	2 (A + 10 yr C)	Urn	<i>AC</i> 76, p 265
Sutton 268, Glam	2 (A + foetus/I)	Collared urn	<i>Arch</i> 89, p 89
Sheepplays 279, Glam	2 (A + C)	Nil	<i>Ant J</i> 21, p 97
Simondston, Glam	3-4 (A + A + C + ?indet)	2 Enlarged F-Vs	<i>Arch</i> 87, p 129
	3 (A + C + C)	Collared urn	<i>Arch</i> 87, p 129
	2 (A + C)	Nil	<i>Arch</i> 87, p 129
Breach Farm, Glam	3	Pygmy cup, brz axe, B&T AHs etc	<i>PPS</i> 4, p 107
Marlborough Grange, Glam	3 (A + C + C)	Pygmy cup	<i>AC</i> 118, p 49
Bevan's Quarry, Glos	3	Bucket urn, 3 accessory vessels	<i>TBGAS</i> 86, p 16
Soldiers Tump, Glos	2 (F + very yng C)	KD, brz awl, shale pendant, beads	<i>TBGAS</i> 74, p 15
Hungerford, Glos	2 (sml ?A + sml ?A)	Nil	<i>TBGAS</i> 5, p 133
	2 (F + I)	Nil	<i>TBGAS</i> 5, p 133
Hinton Ampner 1, Hants	2 (?A + 1½ yr I)	Worked flint	<i>HFC</i> 10, p 249
Latch Farm, Hants	2 (C + C)	Collared urn	<i>PPS</i> 4, p 169
Colbury, Hants	3 (A + 2 yr C + 9 yr C)	Bucket urn	<i>Ant J</i> 13, p 414
Portsdown, Hants	2 (?M + ?F)	Shale & amber beads, gold covered shale button, slotted pygmy cup	<i>HFC</i> 24, p 20
Beaulieu 4, Hants	?2	F-V	<i>PPS</i> 9, p 1
Ury, Kincardines	2 (A + 4 yr C)	Worked flint	<i>PSAS</i> 69, p 382
Gellybank, Kinross	More than 1 adult	Collared urn	<i>PSAS</i> 20, p 142
Patrickholm, Lanark	4 (25 yr A + 8½ yr C + 8½ yr C + ?yng ?F)	Bone & stone beads, flint flake	<i>PSAS</i> 83, p 207
	2 (16 yr C + 20 yr A)	Flint fabricator	<i>PSAS</i> 83, p 207
Bannside, Lancs	2 (?F + 2½ yr C)	Collared urn, pygmy cup	<i>CW</i> 10, p 342
Salthouse, Norfolk	2 (old A + I)	Plain urn	<i>NA</i> 5, p 263
Weasenhams 6, Norfolk	2 (F + C)	Nil	C B Denston (unpublished)
Weasenhams 7, Norfolk	3-4 (F + F + yng F + ?M)	Collared urn	C B Denston (unpublished)
Bamborough 197, Northumberland	2 (?F + A)	Encrusted urn, flint knife	<i>BB</i> , p 415

<i>Site</i>	<i>Burials</i>	<i>Associations</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Alwinton 205, Northumberland	2-3 (all adults)	Nil	<i>BB</i> , p 427
Spital Hill 7, Northumberland	3 (?F+ ?F+C) 'Several'	Antler pin Nil	<i>BB</i> , p 427 <i>AA2</i> 15, p 23
Goatcrag A, Northumberland	2 (yng ?F+ 2½ yr C)	Enlarged F-V	<i>AA4</i> 50, p 15
Quandale, Orkney Queenafjold, Orkney	3 (A+A+C) 2	Nil Stone potlid, burnt potsherd	<i>PSAS</i> 71, p 72 <i>DES</i> 1967, p 35, <i>supra</i> pp 33-40. <i>Oxon</i> 28, p 1
Stanton Harcourt 4/4A, Oxon	At least 3 adults	Nil	
Horsbrugh, Peebles	2 (A+ 6 yr C)	Potsherds	Present paper
Monzie, Perth	2 (A+ 7 yr C)	Nil	<i>PSAS</i> 73, p 62
Crieff, Perth	2-3 (4 yr C+ 9 yr C+ ?A)	Enlarged F-V	<i>DES</i> 1967, p 36
Jacket's Well, Radnor	2 (middle-aged ?F+C)	Collared urn	<i>AC</i> 91, p 293
Pool Farm, Somerset	?2 ('old'+ 'yng')	Nil	<i>PSANHS</i> 76, p 85
Tynings S, Somerset	2 (?F+ ?M)	Collared urn	<i>PUBSS</i> 6, p 111
Tynings E, Somerset	2 (20 yr F+ 3 yr C)	Collared urn, faience & jet beads, brz awl	<i>PUBSS</i> 2, p 132
Kinneil Mill, Stirling	2 (?F+ ?F)	Collared urn	<i>PSAS</i> 100, p 86
Pin Farm, Suffolk	2 (M+ ?F)	Nil	<i>PSIA</i> 33, p 19
Itford Hill, Sussex	2 (yng F+ 3 yr C)	Bucket urn	<i>SAC</i> 110, p 70
Cock Hill, Sussex	3 (yng A+ 12 yr C+ I) 2 (A+ I) 2 or more (at least one adult+ C)	D-R sherds D-R sherds Bucket urn	<i>SAC</i> 99, p 78 <i>SAC</i> 99, p 78 <i>SAC</i> 99, p 78
Rearquhar, Sutherland	2 (yng ?F+ yng ?F)	Nil	<i>DES</i> 1966, p 44
Crosby Ravensworth 182, Westmorland	2 (F+ I)	Urn	<i>BB</i> , p 398
Blackness, W. Lothian	2 (A+ 4 yr C)	Nil	<i>PSAS</i> 79, p 174
Balneil, Wigtowns	2 (A+ ?F)	Cordoned urn, tanged brz chisel, faience quoit bead, crutch- headed bone pin	<i>PSAS</i> 50, p 302
W. Overton, Wilts	2 (?M+ 6 yr C)	Contemporary w/S2 Beaker burial	<i>PPS</i> 32, p 122
Wilsford 38, Wilts	2 (40 yr A+ A)	Nil	<i>PPS</i> 32, p 122
Greenland Farm, Wilts	2 (yng M+ 'older' F)	Nil	<i>ULIAB</i> 4, p 89
Amesbury, Wilts	2 (40 yr M+ 50 yr M) 2 (yng F+ 1 yr C) 2 (16 yr C+ 8½ yr C)	Potsherd Globular urn Enlarged F-V	<i>WAM</i> 65, p 64 <i>PPS</i> 33, p 336 <i>PPS</i> 33, p 336
Barrow 272, Yorks	'Probably' more than one	Nil	<i>40 Yrs</i> , p 343
Aldro 109, Yorks	2 ('yng person'+ C)	Bone needle	<i>40 Yrs</i> , p 58
Blanch 192, Yorks	?2 (A+ ?C)	Collared urn,	<i>40 Yrs</i> , p 323
Blanch 194, Yorks	2 (F+ C)	Collared urn, pygmy cup	<i>40 Yrs</i> , p 324
Etton, 82, Yorks	2 (F+ 7 yr C)	PCK	<i>BB</i> , p 285
Garrowby 143, Yorks	More than 1 of different ages	Nil	<i>40 Yrs</i> , p 147
Goodmanham 85, Yorks	2 (C+ C)	2 Collared urns	<i>BB</i> , p 290
Painsthorpe 98, Yorks	2 (A+ C)	PCK, flint knife	<i>40 Yrs</i> , p 130
Rudston 62, Yorks	2 (M+ ?)	N2 beaker	<i>BB</i> , p 234
Quernhow, Yorks	2 2 (A+ C)	F-V F-V, PCK	<i>Ant J</i> 31, p 1 <i>Ant J</i> 31, p 1
Irton Moor I, Yorks	2 (30 yr M+ 16 yr ?M)	2 B&T AHs	<i>YAJ</i> 45, p 55
Slingsby 145, Yorks	2 (A+ A)	Collared urn	<i>BB</i> , p 352
Boulby 7, Yorks	2 (?F+ yng C)	Collared urn	<i>YAJ</i> 25, p 48

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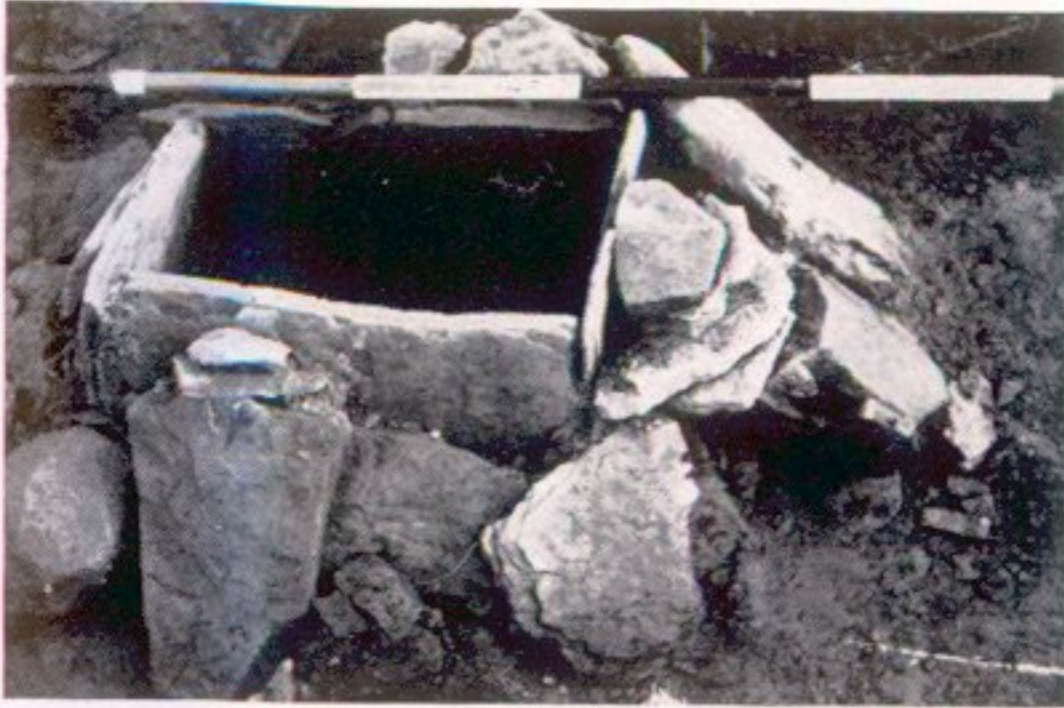
NOTES

- 1 Binford (1972, 388) argues that the consistent female+child combination in a small sample of American Paleo-Indian multiple cremation deposits reflects exogamous marriage, i.e. special mortuary treatment accorded those (women and their sub-adult children) whose kinship affiliations lay outside their residence group. Unfortunately, for the present, insufficiency of data disallows the formulation of worthwhile hypotheses relating to the social correlatives of the British deposits.
- 2 Bones burnt in a dry unfleshed condition are not subject to warping and, on this basis and on that of a distinctive cracking pattern, can be distinguished from those burnt with the flesh still in place (Binford 1972, 373 ff). Unfortunately these criteria have yet to be applied in the examination of British prehistoric cremations.
- 3 Between 55 and 60 Scottish Bronze Age graves (all but a few being short cists) are recorded to have contained multiple 'separate' burials, some of which were possibly or probably interred successively, others certainly contemporaneously. Twenty-three of these graves contained both cremations and inhumations, 4 contained 2 or more cremations (but no inhumations), and the rest inhumations only. See Petersen 1973, 34, for English cremation/inhumation associations.

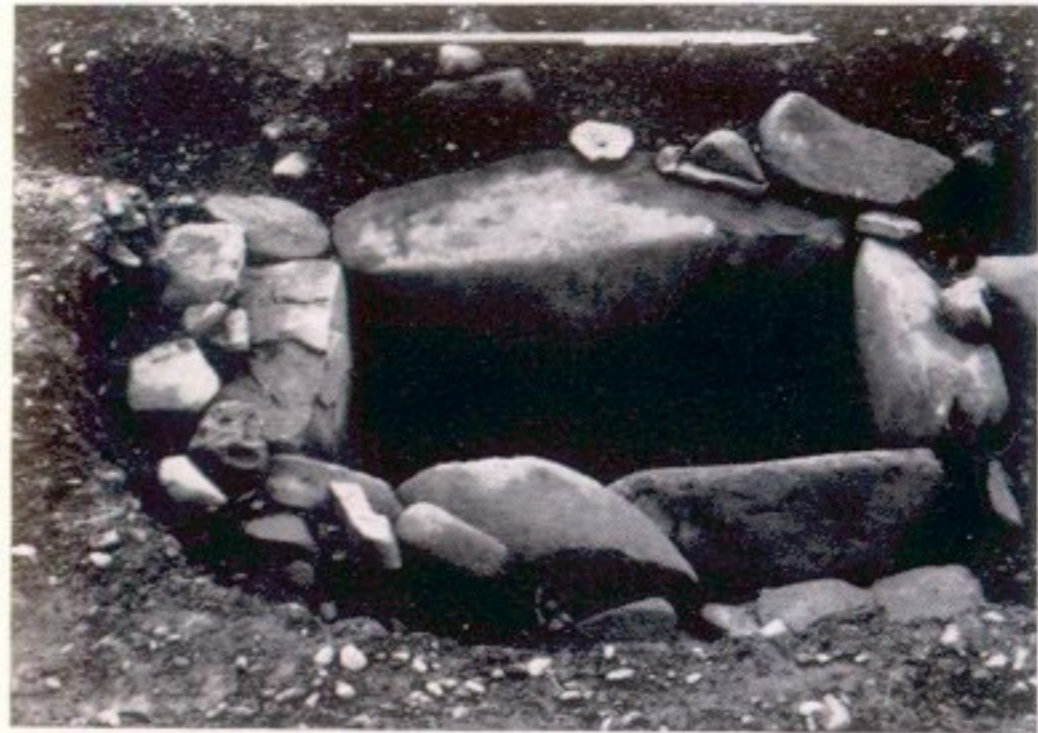
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a Summersdale cist (scale in ft)



b Horsbrugh Castle Farm, cist from E (1 m scale)



c The Broch of Burrian, North Ronaldsay, from the E